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OUR "POLITICAL VACUUM"

The cold war goes into a new phase

By Tabitha Petran

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

IN THE WAKE of the proclamation of the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine, world tensions appeared to be sharpening and the cold war entering a new phase.

From the UN vantage point, there seemed to be in Washington what some here call a "political vacuum." Congressional hearings on the President's request for standby authority to send arms, troops and dollars to the Middle East and his Inaugural Address pointed to this conclusion. For the hearings, which developed a Democratic attack on Secy. of State Dulles, directed chiefly at his alleged "soft" policy in the past year, produced nothing in the way of a coherent policy or even criticism. The Inaugural Address, like the Presidential messages which preceded it, was notable only for moral generalities and total absence of policy or program for the conduct of foreign affairs.

Many at UN have welcomed recent signs, however slight, of some new U.S. approaches in foreign policy. These range from trial balloons over eventual U.S. recognition of China (see **Satevepost**, 1/19, **Newsweek**, 1/21) to suggestions looking toward neutralization of Germany. But such ideas tend to disappear in the prevailing confusion and the "vacuum" to be filled, especially since the new Middle East move, by atomic buildups and atomic threats.

A PEACETIME PEAK: For example, the new military budget is the highest ever in peacetime. It reflects, according to Hanson Baldwin (N.Y. **Times**, 1/20), a Presidential decision—settling a long argument among the military chiefs—that henceforth "military planning must be based on the assumption that nuclear and thermonuclear weapons would be

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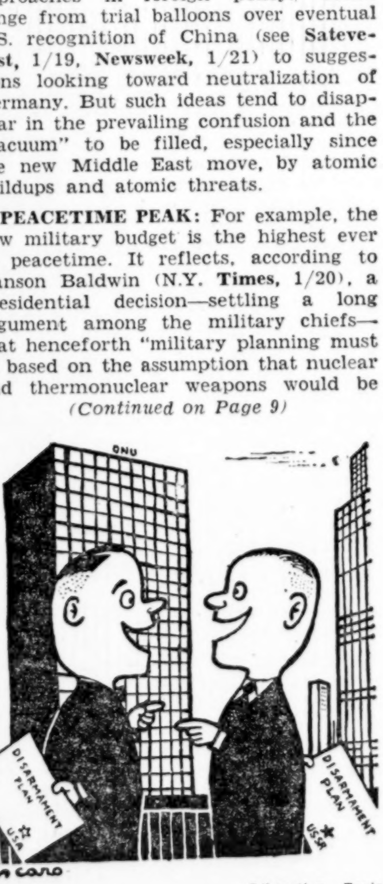

Liberation, Paris

". . . and if we agreed to agree, would you agree?"

The representative of Kingdom Come passes the Inaugural stand

The Honest John rocket, capable of carrying an atomic warhead, is carted past the President and the Vice President in the reviewing stand, after Mr. Eisenhower in his Inaugural speech pledged to heal our divided world by peaceful means.

THE FACTS UP TO DATE

New 'spying' arrests in New York

By Elmer Bendiner

AT SEVEN O'CLOCK Friday morning, Jan. 25, 17-year-old Lawrence Soble answered the doorbell in his home in West 78th St., Manhattan, and was confronted by six men. "We're the FBI," said one. "How do I know you're not robbers?" asked the boy.

They flashed their badges and entered. Each man went to a separate room in the six-room apartment. The boy's parents, Jack, 53, and Myra Soble, 52, were roused out of bed and told to get dressed. While the parents were questioned briefly in the living room, agents scurried through the house loading papers into cartons. Lawrence later recalled that when they found $100 they accused his father of "hiding" the money. Then they whisked Mr. and Mrs. Soble to the new FBI headquarters in East 69th St.

Lawrence Soble told newsmen who swarmed over the apartment later in the morning: "It was a terrible thing to see my parents handcuffed. I tried to slip my father something to read but they wouldn't let me."

THE HEADLINES: At the same time another FBI squad called at the Riverside Drive home of Jacob Albam, 65, and seized him. His wife would make no comment later on the arrest.

By 7:40 that morning bulletins broke into scheduled radio programs with the news. The early edition of the N. Y. **World-Telegram** said: "FBI ARRESTS 3, CRACKS SOVIET SPY RING HERE." On Saturday the **Journal-American** banner head was: "U.S. MAY ASK DEATH FOR 3 AS SOVIET SPIES."

In Monday's **Mirror** columnist Victor Riesel spoke of them as if they had been convicted: "Those three spies the FBI trailed for 13 years and picked up the other day . . ."

All the N.Y. press, except for the **Times**, splashed the story on page one with lurid heads that branded them as guilty before the charges were known. The **Times** ran the story with a one-column head on page one on Saturday, put it on p. 32 on Sunday, on p. 12 on Monday. It was plain that, aside from the **Times**, the newspapers would try these three long before they got to court.

AN "OVERT" ACT: Before U.S. Commissioner Earle N. Bishopp in the Federal Building in New York's Foley Sq. U.S. Atty. Paul Williams filed two complaints: conspiring to commit espionage and acting as Soviet agents without registering. Soble was specifically charged with writing a "report" as an "overt" act in the alleged conspiracy on or about May 30, 1956; and with delivering two letters, one 26 pages long and the other five pages, to an unnamed "individual" for transmittal to Soviet agents.

No details were given about any of the documents. The rest was all hinted, but Williams said that Soble had succeeded to the leadership of an espionage ring after Vassily M. Zubilin, former second secy. of the Soviet Embassy, had returned to the Soviet Union in 1944.

At this Mrs. Soble exclaimed incredulously: "W-h-a-t?"

Williams, in asking that high bail be set, said the Sobles had been preparing to "flee the country." Mrs. Soble called out again: "Fantastic." Later she said: "It's certainly wrong. We didn't consider any fleeing from the country."

THE PASSPORT: Soble had frequently traveled to Canada where his brother and sister live, and to France where he had

(Continued on Page 5)

HOW SOVIET UNION REDUCED CASES

Cancer: Need it be?

By Ruth Clarke

BEFORE THIS YEAR is over, some 250,000 Americans are expected to die of cancer. One out of every four in the U. S. will get cancer at some time in their lives, and of those who get it only one-third will survive, according to estimates of the American Cancer Society.

A year ago Society statisticians calculated that only one-fourth would be cured. The upward revision this year indicates progress, not so much in curing the disease once it has gained headway as in scotching it early.

How much progress can be made in that direction is shown in sensational reports out of the Soviet Union, unpublished up to now in English in the U.S.

KEY TO PROGRESS: U. S. authorities consider 50% of all cancer cases incurable and tack on an additional 16-20% that might have been cured but probably won't be because they will be detected too late. But in the Russian Republic of the Soviet Union the percentage of incurable cancer cases in rural areas dropped from 40% in 1947 to 24% in 1954; cases in large cities for the same period dropped to 15% in the same time.

Similar progress in this country would cut this year's cancer deaths by half for rural areas and two-thirds for cities. Here briefly is how the Russians say they achieved their results:

Key to their progress lies in cancer detection examinations of apparently healthy people on an unprecedented mass scale. Dr. A. I. Savitsky in the scientific journal **Lebensbedingungen und Gesundheit** (Living Conditions and Health) told

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NOTICE

This month a large class of subscriptions fall due, and carry a red address label. If your address label reads February '57 or earlier your sub is in this category. It would be extremely helpful if you renewed NOW, and saved the Guardian the heavy cost of billing.

- **To renew for one year mail address label with $3 to address below. Label is on back of this coupon or on wrapper.**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4 St., New York 9, N.Y.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Boston, Jan. 12 (UP).—A spokesman for 7,000,000 salesmen says the United States should send an army of 10,000 Fuller Brush men to knock on Russian doors.

"Within 30 days the Russian housewife would be putting pressure on the old man and a great change would be in the works," Tony Whan, National Sales Eecutive Association Board chairman, said in a speech here.

Arkansas Gazette, Jan. 13

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: William Gilbert, Ink, Ark. Be sure to include original clip with entry.

THE MAIL BAG

What war?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Sen. Fulbright speaks of Secy. Dulles as believing "there is a real likelihood that American boys will be required to fight in the Middle East." He warns of the seriousness of "our present circumstances." Sen. Fulbright is a conservative Southerner and not a sensation-seeker. When he warns of the seriousness of our situation he must have in mind the danger of war. This fear is confirmed by articles in **U. S. News and World Report** (1/18 and 1/25) stating "More war is a certainty" and asking: "Do the people of America really understand or weigh seriously the whole world situation, with its many potentialities for the sudden outbreak of war?"

On Jan. 25 Jack and Myra Soble were arrested in New York on suspicion of conspiracy to spy for the Soviet Union. These arrests occur, after an alleged ten years of surveillance, as the U.S. Court of Appeals prepares to hear in February the appeal of Morton Sobell for a new trial on the spy charges for which he was convicted with the Rosenbergs and is now serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz prison.

Are the new "spy" arrests timed to create a state of hysteria such as prevailed during the prosecutions of the Rosenbergs and Sobell in 1950-53—a state of hysteria deliberately created to cover up our unwarranted and costly Korean War of 1950-53?

What war is in the offing now? The American people can prevent a new war from breaking out. One of the means to do so is to demand a new trial for Morton Sobell, to demand his freedom from Alcatraz. Hysteria cannot prevail in the face of a fearless regard for truth.

A. A. Heller

Damn pavin'!

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In the **N. Y. Times Magazine** (12/23/56) article "What Drought Means," its author quotes an ex-rancher now tending a gasoline service station as having said to him: "It's this here damn pavin'. They have paved up this whole country with seement and blacktop. Blocks seepage. And there's thousands of cars a-sucking the moisture out of the air."

Last year Congress appropriated 32 billions for highway construction, which means that still more land will be covered with wider, thousands - of - miles-long tracks of "this here damn pavin'." This obsession for highways seems to be of greater importance than large scale projects for reforestation and irrigation.

Once flourishing civilizations around the Mediterranean laid ruin to their forest, turned their land to desert, and now lie buried beneath the sand. No nation, ancient or modern, has ever retained a sustained vitality without a rich sylvan background. Nature is always generous with her bounties so long as man does not interfere with her long-time processes of renewal. When men wantonly destroy and not quickly replace trees, nations will suffer unnecessary calamities. It is time for the people to speak up before the drought peril renders wasted and unhabitable larger areas of our land.

A. Garcia Diaz

Soil preservation

OSHKOSH, NEBR.

Drought resolves itself into just one thing: Prudence. Land is suitable to cultivation that has fertility and the fertility would not be there were it not that at times moisture was abundant in any such region. Also, too slight heed is paid to the fact that arable soil was created by the vegetable matter being dissolved on the surface and the fertile element sinking into the soil. The soil's surface absorbs precipitation and also serves as a mantle, preventing wind erosion. By prudence, I mean when moisture penetration is deficient it is a crime against nature to till the land. Soil must be treated with prudence until reasonable moisture penetration prevails.

Emil Kopac

In memoriam

ROSLYN HEIGHTS, L. I.

Please accept the enclosed $25 as a contribution towards the sustaining fund of your fine, incomparable newspaper. The liberal cause has great need of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN to assist in its fulfillment.

(former) Roslyn Club, American Labor Party

Hyman Kramer

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Feb. 6 marks the tenth anniversary of Hyman Kramer's death. Hundreds who were fortunate enough to know him will be honoring his memory on this occasion.

He loved beauty in all its forms, but not selfishly. It was his creed that beauty, like bread, springs from and belongs to all mankind—that beauty, like bread gives vital sustenance, and must be torn loose from the clutches of the leisured few.

To this program he devoted his life. Many homes still boast the radiance he brought them—and in this radiance he lives.

Since the GUARDIAN is, to a certain degree, the carrier of Hyman Kramer's heritage, we are contributing $10 in his name.

Mary Kramer, Regina Rothman and Aaron Kramer.

Boost

CHICAGO, ILL.

We want to tell you that we appreciate your excellent job in giving all the news which other papers ignore for obvious reasons. We're lousy correspondents but since we're sending our sub and contribution, we wanted to let you know how we feel. Keep up the good work.

Naomi & Leon Bellin

For ALS

COULTER, PA.

Anna Louise Strong's "The Hungarian Tragedy" is a most keen intellectual analysis. The economic and political turmoil in Hungary was caused by the collaboration of the CIA and Pope Pius XII, through his Catholic Action organization, urging revolution in behalf of the disestablished church of that country.

I see Sen. Jumping Joe McCarthy has declared the U.S. should withdraw from the UN, then "kick the UN out of the United States." I thought it was the Communists who are supposed to advocate overthrow by force?

Charles A. Francis

N.Y. Herald Tribune

"The toy makers weren't on their toes, lady. We don't yet have a junior 'mad bomber' kit."

Interest & profit

THOMPSON FALLS, MONT.

The comment of O. B. Bagshaw regarding profits and interest prompts me to contribute my "two-bits worth" to the subject.

Henry George in his book **Progress And Poverty** states that only three factors enter into the production of wealth—Land, Labor and Capital. The return to land is termed rent; that to labor, wages; and to capital, interest. But since capital could not exist until labor was first applied to land (natural resources) there are only two factors which enter into the production of wealth: Land and Labor. There is little or no justification therefore for the item of "interest."

Profit comes entirely "out of thin air." It is a payment for which no service was or is performed.

When the item of "profit" is added to production, consumer purchasing power is incapable of purchasing all the products produced. That old bogey Profit is the item which throws our economy out of balance, brings on "overproduction," lack of consumer purchasing power, depression, panic, and finally war.

That is our boasted "American Way Of Life."

Leverne Hamilton

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REPORT TO READERS

Where we stand

THE WELLMAN FAMILY of Detroit was on television the other night. The center of interest was 14-year-old Vickie, who had just won the American Legion's Americanism essay contest as her 16-year old brother David had two years ago. Vickie's feat made news because her parents are Communists: Saul Wellman is appealing a Smith Act conviction for conspiracy to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the U.S. government; Mrs. Wellman is facing deportation.

The television interviewers marveled that such fine young Americans could develop under the parenthood of two such subversive individuals. More penetrating interviewers might have questioned whether the parents of two such outstanding young Americans could indeed be subversive, after all; whether they perhaps were, on the contrary, more exemplary Americans than many other U. S. parents.

FROM OUR FIRST STICK OF TYPE back in 1948, the GUARDIAN has fought those who term good Americans subversive, who categorize all good impulses, movements for justice, racial equality, peace and human betterment as un-American activities. We have, indeed, engaged in those activities since our first issue.

We supported Henry Wallace for President in 1948 and fought for the survival of the Progressive Party. We initiated the fight for the lives of the Trenton Six, and saw their death sentences reversed and their innocence established. From the outset we have attacked the Smith Act as unconstitutional, have defended every victim of it and have helped raise funds for their defenses and families. From its first shot we opposed the Korean War, a point of view now shared by the vast majority of all Americans. We invited a hue and cry from the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press for forcing to publication the names of U.S. prisoners of war in Korea. We forced to world attention the frameup of the Rosenbergs and Sobell. We have joined every good fight for human rights, racial equality and full status for all minorities. We have particularly concerned ourselves with the treatment of foreign-born in America, doing everything we could to bring about revision of the Walter-McCarran Act.

McCarthy, McCarran, Velde, Parnell Thomas, Brownell, Eastland, Walter—the whole kit and kaboodle of them—it has been our journalistic pleasure to harpoon, lampoon, expose and decry for their offenses in behalf of political indecency in America.

IT WAS IN THE CARDS that we would invite some counter-attack for this "subversive" activity. We lost our editor by deportation through a combined assault by Velde, McCarthy and the Walter-McCarran Dept. of Immigration. Others of us have been hauled up for inquisition, but without any dampening effect on our editorial policies or our eagerness to join any good fight and to invite you to join with us.

This month, at long last, our name was added to the "subversive" list of the House Un-American Activities Committee. This is a compilation of 733 organizations and activities blacklisted by any legislative or other witch-hunt body, state or federal. It puts us in the good company of The Committee for the Recall of Councilman McClanahan, the various Committees to Repeal the Smith Act, McCarran and Walter-McCarran Acts and, indeed, the Progressive Party itself which, moribund, is thus forewarned not to attempt to rise again. (The Committee did not specify whether it was blacklisting the Progressive Party of Theodore Roosevelt, Robert LaFollette or Henry Wallace).

IT HAS LONG SINCE BEEN EVIDENT that the course of this newspaper is not to be altered by official or unofficial attack; hence the purpose must be to intimidate you, the readers, who have carried on the fights and campaigns for decency and justice which the Walter Committee views as subversive.

The men and women who carried the Rosenberg campaign for clemency to world-wide proportions can and would do it again, should the occasion arise. The core of opposition to Rep. Walter's iniquitous immigration law includes the GUARDIAN readership. The will to peace of the American people has been stimulated and strengthened to a shouting majority by the unswerving devotion and activity of progressive America.

The accomplishment of peace, full human rights and political decency demands a strong, united, growing organization of the citizenry; the purposes of war, corruption, racism and repression require the destruction of citizen opposition.

We stand where we have always stood, list or no list. We urge you to stand firm where you have always stood. Then, as Sam Small used to say, "Let battle commence!"

—THE GUARDIAN

A CIVIL LIBERTIES ROUNDUP

Who said the witch-hunt was on its last legs?

AFTER two recent set-backs in contempt of Congress cases, civil liberties advocates last week were pinning their hopes on a Supreme Court review of the John T. Watkins case for a major test of the authority of Congressional committees investigating the beliefs and associations of individuals.

The setbacks came in the cases of Mrs. Mary Knowles, head of a Quaker library in Plymouth Meeting, Pa., and Robert Shelton, a N.Y. **Times** copy reader. Both had invoked the First Amendment in declining to answer questions before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. Both were found guilty, in trials without a jury, by Ross Rizley, a visiting Federal Judge from Oklahoma sitting in Washington.

He sentenced Mrs. Knowles to a $500 fine and 120 days in jail with the remark: "I just can't bring myself to say to her that she should not serve some time. I

British Weekly, London

wish I could but I can't." But her bail was continued pending an appeal. Shelton got 6 months and a $500 fine.

THE JUDGE: Judge Rizley is a Republican lawyer with a small-town background (Beaver, Okla., pop. 1,495, and Guymon, Okla., pop. 4,704). He was a County Attorney and State Senator before he was elected a Representative in Congress from 1941 to 1949. He was serving as chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board when he was appointed to the bench in February, 1956. In sentencing Mrs. Knowles he noted that "we have a serious problem in this country in communist subversion and we are spending billions of dollars to cope with that situation." He also observed that his four sons "spent time in uniform" and that "we all know what would happen to them if they refused to obey the summons to serve their country."

In the Shelton case, cross-examination of J. G. Sourwine, commitee counsel, revealed that the probers didn't know who they were looking for when they made out a subpena for a Shelton with another first name. A newspaperman named Shelton had been mentioned in a letter to the committee by an anonymous informer; Judge Rizley barred production of the letter in court.

REPRISAL AGAINST TIMES: Defense attorney Joseph L. Rauh Jr. argued that the probe involving Shelton had no legislative purpose but was conducted as a reprisal against the **Times** for its dim view of the committee's activities and its chairman James Eastland. He pointed out that 30 of 38 witnesses called in executive session had been employes or former employes of the **Times**, and that of 18 called in public session, 14 were or had been connected with the paper and a 15th was a brother of a **Times** writer. Rauh asked Sourwine: "Isn't it a fact that the people you did not call in public session would not have reflected on the N.Y. **Times** if they had been called?" Sourwine replied: "Yes, I think that's a fair statement."

Rauh said the Rizley ruling granted such sweeping powers to Congressional investigating committees that they could haul anybody in off the streets for a grilling. The Watkins case, which is backed by the American Civil Liberties Union, will challenge this view. Watkins freely admitted that as a United Auto Workers organizer he had worked with Communists from 1942 to 1947 but that he was never a member himself. He refused to name or discuss his former associates and was convicted of contempt.

"NO ONE IS TRULY FREE": An ACLU friend of the court brief says: "The rights of free speech and assembly are worthless if people can be compelled as was [Watkins] to account for their speech and assembly. No one is truly free to associate with others if he must fear subsequent inquiry into the details of his association by an agency of government making an investigation such as this. Are not speech and assembly, conversing and mingling with others, the very elements of association?"

Mrs. Knowles and Shelton were among six indicted for contempt at the same time. The other four still to be tried, presumably before Judge Rizley, are Alden Whitman, a **Times** copy editor; Seymour Peck, a **Times** deskman; William A. Price, a N.Y. **Daily News** reporter who was fired after the hearing, and Herman Liveright, former program director for a New Orleans TV station. Shelton appealed his conviction and the **Times** announced that he "is still in the employ of the **Times** and his status will continue unchanged until there is a final disposition of this action."

CLEVELAND T-H CASES: On Jan. 23 it was announced in Washington that a Federal grand jury in Cleveland had indicted eight union leaders on charges of conspiring with eight Communist Party leaders to file false Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits. The CP leaders, all of whom have been convicted under the Smith Act, were named as co-conspirators but not as defendants. This is the second such case against unionists; last Nov. 16, 14 officials of the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers were similarly indicted. On Jan. 16 they moved in Federal court in Denver for dismissal of the charge.

As the first month of the new year came to an end, there were other developments in the field of civil liberties:

HOLLYWOOD BLACKLIST: On Jan. 21 the Supreme Court agreed to review charges of blacklisting filed by 23 writers and actors against the major movie companies. The suit includes monetary damages totalling $51,750,000. Defense attorneys Robert W. Kenny and Ben Margolis charge that the companies had entered into a "malicious" agreement to blacklist the 23 after they appeared or were named before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1951 and 1952. Eighteen of the 23 invoked the Fifth Amendment; the other five did not appear before the Committee but were named by others as Communists. The Supreme Court will hear argument on a California Court of Appeals ruling that no legally protected interests are involved in the case.

TEN-YEAR SENTENCE: In Chicago the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a ten-year sentence against Knut Heikkinen, who was convicted of wilful vio-

Verdini, Vie Nuove, Rome

Herblock in Washington Post

"It works fine. You just have to push."

lation of the self-deportation provisions of the Walter-McCarran Act. He was specifically charged with not making "timely application" to effect his departure under a deportation order. Heikkinen, a native of Finland, has lived here for 50 years. The deportation order was based on a charge that he had been a member of the CP after entry to this country. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born announced it would appeal to the Supreme Court: "It is inhuman not only to force a person to help exile himself, but then to imprison him for ten years solely because his haste does not measure the Justice Dept's decree is an act so flagrant that it is almost beyond comprehension."

PROFESSIONAL WITNESS: In Brooklyn, denaturalization proceedings were continuing against James J. Matles, director of organization for the independent United Electrical Workers Union. Chief government witness against him was Maurice Malkin, of whom a Federal Judge in California recently said: "The court is doubtful of the dependability of the witness' testimony. He admitted he had been convicted of a felony . . . He admitted on the witness stand that in a prior proceeding he had committed perjury. He is what is known as a professional witness."

POTASH DEFENDED: The Committee for the Foreign Born announced in New York that it has assumed the defense of Irving Potash, sentenced on Jan. 18 to two years and fined $1,000 for illegally re-entering the country. He was deported in 1956 after serving a sentence under a Smith Act conviction. Potash pleaded guilty to the re-entry charge, but the Committee said that "the Justice Dept. may seek to establish precedents in the Potash case that would adversely affect the rights of a large number of foreign born Americans."

AMERICANISM: In another deportation case, a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has set Feb. 22 for argument on the government's attempt to send Mrs. Peggy Wellman of Detroit to Canada. She was born there while her mother was on a brief visit to that country and has lived in the U.S. all her life. Her husband Saul Wellman is appealing a Smith Act conviction. The news came as Vickie Wellman, 14-year-old daughter, won an American Legion Post Auxiliary award for Americanism. The medal was inscribed: "For God and Country . . . Courage, Leadership, Honor, Service, Scholarship," and the accompanying citation listed her qualities as "necessary to the preservation and protection of fundamental institutions of our government and the advancement of society." Her 16-year-old brother won the award two years ago.

MIS-'GUIDE': On Jan. 19 the House Committee on Un-American Activities issued a revised "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" containing 137 new listings, including the **National Guardian** (for comment, see Report to Readers, p. 2). The Methodist Fedn. for Social Action, newly-listed, promptly protested its inclusion. In a letter to the Committee, Dr. Loyd F. Worley, president, asked why it had not been granted a chance to defend itself, and said: "We claim to be loyal citizens of the U.S. We feel that any Congressional Committee publishing false and misleading statements for which ordinary citizens could be sued for libel is taking undue advantage of the privilege of Congressional immunity."

PENSION UNION: In Washington, attorney Jay Sykes for the Washington [State] Pension Union asked the Subversive Activities Control Board to reject a recommendation of an SACB hearing panel that the organization be declared a "commnist front" and required to register with the Attorney General. Said Sykes: "There is no evidence in the record that the Pension Union's activity in the field of social security was directed by the Communist Party."

ASK REDUCED SENTENCES: In New York a U.S. Court of Appeals heard argument for a reduction of three-year sentences for contempt of court against CP leaders Gil Green and Henry Winston. The sentences were imposed when they surrendered after being fugitives for five years under a Smith Act conviction. Attorney John Abt contended that a judiciary act of 1789 bars punishment of more than one year for contempt, and that the legal point is now being tested for the first time. The government argued that punishment for contempt is discretionary with the sentencing judge. But Judge Learned Hand said the three-year sentences imposed in this case seemed "pretty severe." Both Green and Winston are now serving five-year Smith Act sentences.

SHIBLEY TO PRISON: George E. Shibley, Long Beach, Calif., labor attorney, on Jan. 14 began serving a three-year sentence arising from his successful defense of a Marine Corps enlisted man. His defense committee contends that his prosecution on a charge of conspiring to steal a legal transcript of proceedings before a military court of inquiry was a "reprisal" by Marine Corps brass. More than 500 persons were on hand to greet him when he surrendered at the Los Angeles Federal courthouse.

The Supreme Court refused to review the case although more than 400 outstanding attorneys backed his appeal. Federal Judge Ben Harrison in Los Angeles turned down a plea for a suspended sentence which was supported by more than 100 letters from prominent lawyers, judges and clergymen. Judge Harrison demanded a public confession of guilt from Shibley and said: "If he still stands up and says he's not guilty, the application for probation must be denied."

The Shibley Defense Committee (P. O. Box 748, Long Beach, Calif.) is now urging letters to Sen. Thomas C. Hennings, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, asking that a Congressional study be made of the case.

PACIFISTS TO JAIL: In New York City six pacifists chose to serve five days in jail rather than pay fines of $25 for defying an air-raid drill last July 20. Four of the six are affiliated with the **Catholic Worker**; all pleaded guilty. Dorothy Day, editor, said: "If there's another drill next year, we will again refuse to take part." Ammon Hennacy told the court that in choosing jail he was accepting "penance for my sins and the sins of my country in loosing the atomic bomb upon the world."

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A WARNING TO THE PEOPLE

Don't let the monopolies grab atomic energy too

By Reuben W. Borough
(First of two articles)

LOS ANGELES

THE PROJECTION of a "United States program to develop practical peaceful application of atomic energy" was vigorously urged by the American Public Power Assn. in a statement approved by the association's board of directors (GUARDIAN, 1/21). It will be submitted to the membership at its spring convention.

The statement said the government's program to develop practical application of atomic energy should include a vigorous drive to develop plants capable of producing electric energy "at costs competitive with the costs of energy from competitive sources." The atomic power plants, the statement said, should be built by the Federal government, and the traditional "preferential rights" of the public must be upheld.

As the probable policy of the more than 800 municipal and other publicly-owned electric plants represented by the association, the pronouncement may have considerable popular impact on the side of world order and sanity.

SOUNDS LIKE IKE: However, it will furnish little stimulus, if any, to the public ownership movement now mobilizing throughout the nation. For the program advocated is not a call for dominant action by socially responsible public agencies, Federal, state or local. It is a program, to use the association's own words, to "enlist the efforts of the Federal government, industry, the electric utilities—both consumer and privately owned—state and local governments, institutions of higher learning and research, and other interested organizations".

All of which sounds like the "shared responsibility" of President Eisenhower's "partnership" proposal for guaranteeing the profits of the private power monopoly.

Against this move for the surrender, either in whole or in part, of the country's natural resources to private interests, the nation's socially conscious forces must stand firm. Power, atomic or otherwise, at the base of the economy should be developed and owned by the people.

THE UNDERWRITERS: In its statement the APPA itself furnishes a potent argument against the suggested sharing:

"The people of the U. S., acting through their national government, have financed and are still financing the great national research and development laboratories and almost wholly the research and development programs which have brought the technologies of atomic power and other atomic energy applications to their present state of development. They likewise have underwritten the uranium industry and have created and own the huge industrial complex which makes it possible to produce efficient nuclear fuels in quantity for the production of power."

The importance of government subsidy of atomic energy was graphically stated by two outstanding journalist apologists for Big Business.

"Millions," observed **Fortune** (August, 1954) "have heard that uranium, besides being used in atom bombs, will soon become the wonder fuel to replace all other fuels for the generation of power but no one can prove that it will. Yet the rush for uranium goes on—the first government-promoted, government-supported, and government-controlled mineral rush in American history."

AEC GUARANTEE: It appends this explanatory detail: the Atomic Energy Commission guarantees the future market for uranium (the fuel source for nuclear fission energy) by offering a minimum price of $3 a ton of ore until 1962, with an initial production bonus until 1957. The Commission pledges itself to buy at least 1,000 tons of ore from every miner for the next eight years.

U. S. News and World Report (April 6, 1956) disclosed that at the end of 1955 uranium ore was being supplied by 925 mines employing 6,000 men, and that in 1955 the AEC paid $1.8 million in initial production bonuses for new operations over the nation (as distinguished from the price paid for the ore).

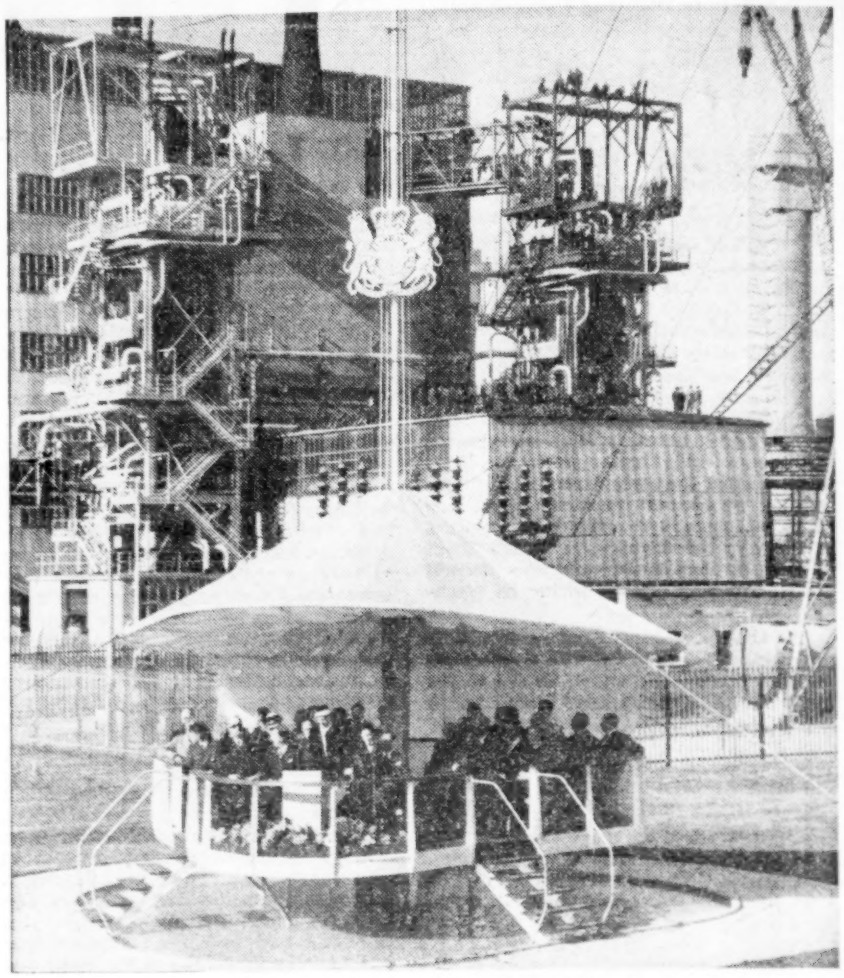
PUBLIC ENTERPRISE: It is clear that government, and government alone, is responsible for establishing the existing base for the production of atomic energy, both for war and for peace. Private enterprise, with its unwillingness to take risks and its incapacity for over-all planning, has made no contribution to that end. The uranium "rods", encased in aluminum "cans" (the fuel used in the commonest type of commercial reactor plant) are the product of public, not private, enterprise.

Yet the atomic power monopolists are now proposing (and to this, in part, the APPA assents) that the government, which has spent and will continue to spend public taxes in developing the indispensable fuel, now turn that fuel over to them with carte blanche to use it in exploiting the national economy. And they already have the necessary legal enactment to enforce their plan.

A LINE TO DRAW: This program is indefensible. The private power interests have no just claim on peacetime atomic energy—the whole country has such claim. The President was right in his initial contention that if the benefits of public power (which he wrongly asserted was "tax-subsidized") were to be conferred upon the Tennessee Valley, they should be conferred upon the remainder of the nation. An economy half-free and half-slave to the power trust is unthinkable.

There are reasons other than those connected with the ownership of atomic energy why a forward-moving people must look beyond the horizons of the APPA statement. Most important is that the line must be immediately drawn in any development program between power derived from depletable and from non-depletable sources. And the economy must be swung as rapidly as possible away from the first and toward the second.

NEXT ARTICLE: The power from the sun, the moon and the wind.



HER MAJESTY'S A CREEPING SOCIALIST

H. M. Queen Elizabeth II, in ermine-trimmed coat, shown as she opened Calder Hall, the world's first full-scale nuclear power station, a public utility and Britain's bid for industrial survival.

Private enterprise de luxe: No risks, profits guaranteed

The following is from an address by Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) before the annual convention of the American Public Power Assn. April 24, 1956.

I'D LIKE to digress for a few moments to discuss the terms and conditions upon which these so-called private enterprise licenses (to power companies and their financial allies) are sought. I have referred to the fact that applications are conditional upon securing exemption from the Public Utilities Holding Company Act, upon the extension of government aid in the insurance problem, and upon the availability of government subsidy for research and other purposes. A reactor (atomic power plant) constructed under these conditions would not constitute exactly a private enterprise venture.

But this is not all. The application of at least one group, that headed by Detroit Edison, is conditional upon securing legislation or an administrative ruling which would make the capital contributions of the members of the group deductible for income tax purposes. This feature alone would result in payment by the Government of 52 per cent of the cost of the reactor. Detroit Edison proposes to construct its own generating facility to use the steam produced by this reactor, financed in large measure by government funds. Yet this proposal is being hailed as a striking example of the willingness of private enterprise to shoulder the financial burden.

A CASE HISTORY FOR THE NATION

There's a change in Youngstown

The change in public attitude toward Congressional witch-hunters since 1951 is described in the following report from a subscriber on the hearings held in Youngstown, O., late last year by a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

THE HEARING held in Youngstown was an effort to create an atmosphere of terror and conformity in the steel industry in this general area, as well as to arouse hysteria against the progressive and liberal-minded foreign born in the area. The scope of the hearings covered Lorain, Cleveland, Youngstown and Pittsburgh.

The Committee was unable to find a single witness who would substantiate the wild fabrications of its two stool-pigeons of "subversion" in the steel industry.

In contrast to the situation in May, 1951, during the same Committee's hearings in Columbus, O., involving two Youngstowners, the coverage of the Youngstown **Vindicator** was much more of a strictly reporting nature, eliminating the smear editorializing to a great extent and the misleading banner headlines which characterized the 1951 coverage.

SYMPATHY GENERAL: We believe it significant that we were able to obtain local counsel, which was impossible in 1951. The American Civil Liberties Union armed local ACLU lawyer-members with material on the Committee and its activities.

Youngstowners called as witnesses report varied but mainly positive experiences in their community associations. People have been critical of the hearings, sympathetic to the witnesses and interested in the meaning of the hearings, which is in marked contrast to the 1951 experience.

There has been one experience of a steelworker fired for using the Fifth Amendment. However, the union has processed the grievance and appears to be ready to fight for his reinstatement. In another instance, Steel Local 1350 at the Carnegie works of U.S. Steel passed a resolution opposing the conduct of the hearings as anti-labor and voting support to anyone who might need it.

THERE WAS SOME HURT: In still another case, a union group tried to force expulsion of a non-cooperative witness but the Local leadership made clear its intention of supporting the member involved, and prevented the case from coming to the floor.

The Committee visit did some hurt to our local United Cultural Center by "leaking" a newspaper story that this progressive nationalities. Home was a "Communist headquarters" with vast sums in the bank. The Center issued a statement refuting this and giving its true history, but a few people demanded payment of loans made some years ago toward purchase of the Home. This situation has placed a heavy load on the small group of nationality and Negro people, mainly elderly, who are today the main supporters and money-raisers for the Home.

New 'spy' arrests

(Continued from Page 1)

business connections. Since 1952 he had been denied a passport. His son Lawrence said: "Without his passport he couldn't travel and that just about put him out of business." Soble had recently engaged a lawyer to press the State Dept. about his passport. A week or so before his arrest he had received a telegram from the State Dept. asking him to reapply. His son said he felt more hopeful then.

In the Commissioner's office U.S. Atty. Williams said that since the Soviet Union was "allegedly implicated as a principal conspirator," it might make funds available to the three. He asked that bail be fixed at $100,000 each. Commissioner Bishopp agreed. Mrs. Soble said: "We never saw so much money. How can we raise it?" They were jailed.

THE FAMILY: In the sparsely furnished apartment Lawrence Soble twisted a handkerchief around his fingers and told reporters the family, once comfortably situated, was almost broke. They have no car, have taken no vacations in recent years. His father had "very little savings" and had cashed in his insurance. He added:

"If he was spying he probably would be paid for it, wouldn't he? Well, he didn't have any money. My mother even had to work. She was working days for a secretarial agency and at night she came home and sewed for people. Now after all this, I suppose people won't want her to make their dresses."

THE PENALTY: On Jan. 29 in Foley Square a Federal grand jury was impanelled that would hear the government request for an indictment. The Justice Dept. indicated that the original complaints, which together would carry a maximum penalty of 15 years imprisonment and $20,000 fine, were only "holding" actions. The real indictment when finally framed, it was said, might make possible the death penalty.

Herblock in Washington Post

"We want to look at this very carefully"

In order to call for death, the government would have to prove espionage either during wartime or since Sept. 3, 1954, when the death penalty was set for peacetime espionage following the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

Like the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell (now serving 30 years in Alcatraz and no relation to the present defendants), these three at their arraignment before the commissioner affirmed their innocence.

THE BACKGROUND: The Sobles and Albam are all refugees from Nazism. Soble and Albam came from Vilkaviskis, a small town in Lithuania. Soble studied economics and law at the University of Leipzig and the Sorbonne. Mrs. Soble came from Nicolaev on the Black Sea. When the Nazis moved into Lithuania the Sobles (Lawrence was then two years old) fled on a much-traveled refugee route to China, Japan and finally the U.S. which they reached in 1941.

Until 1952 the Sobles traveled extensively to France and Canada on family and business matters. Soble had an interest in a bristle factory in France in 1944-45 and was connected with the Canada Brush Co., Ltd. at St. Martin, Que., owned by his brother-in-law. The Sobles became naturalized citizens in 1947.

Albam was caught in Lithuania when the Nazis over-ran it and sent to a forced labor camp. He reached the U.S. after the war in 1947 and married an American citizen in 1948. He went to France briefly that year and returned, his entry facilitated by his marriage. He applied for citizenship in 1951 but it had not yet been granted.

THE REACTION: Albam went to work for a Brooklyn tea and spice company partly owned by his brother Sol. Other members of his family are in Israel. Lawrence Soble described Albam as an old friend of his father's.

In the families of the three there was only shock and bewilderment. At the tea and spice company, Albam's fellow-employees were "astounded." His brother Sol said: "Jacob is a lovely fellow. I can't believe this is true."

In Canada Soble's brother Boris said: "I am prepared to do anything I can for my brother and his wife Myra who is a wonderful girl. They are a hard-working couple and have always loved the United States. In fact, when they came to Canada they could not wait to go to the United States."

His sister Anya Chasen said: "My world has fallen in on us today. It cannot be true. They are loyal, hard working Americans."

WHAT WILL HAPPEN? Lawrence Soble, on a midterm vacation now from the Rhodes School, asked: "What's going to happen next? Do you think it could be something like the Rosenberg case? You know a lot of people still think they're innocent."

Many who asked whether this could be a curtain raiser to a new tragedy recalled that the Rosenbergs died at the height of the cold war and saw new omens in the new arrests. To those who clung stubbornly to the principle that these three were innocent until proved guilty there was nothing yet to go on except two vague complaints, neither branding the jailed persons as spies. The rest were headlines.

A WITCH-HUNT STORY

Great day in Garden Grove

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

GARDEN GROVE is a rapidly growing community of 45,000 on the edge of Los Angeles. In 1954 Dr. Sammy Lee, famed Korean-American athlete, was refused a home in Garden Grove because of racial prejudice, but quickly secured one when the story was given world-wide attention. Families of virtually all minority groups except Negro have been living in Garden Grove. At the end of last year, although over 40,000 had settled in Garden Grove, Negro families were still unable to buy a home there.

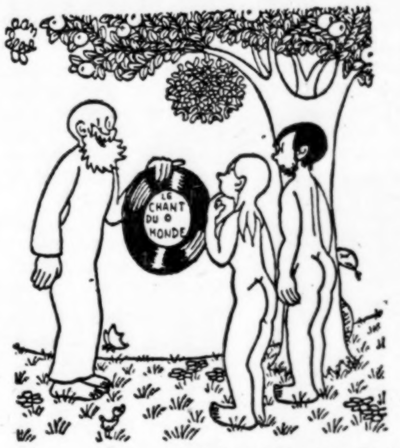
On Wednesday evening Jan. 9, a few neighbors on Morrie Lane in Garden Grove gathered to discuss the rumor that a Negro had purchased the home at 12112 Morrie Lane. On Jan. 10, the property cleared escrow, and title to the home passed from Captain Gene Schwartz, U.S.A.F., to Lt. Harold Bauduit, U.S.A.F., a Negro graduate of Annapolis. Lt. Bauduit, a June graduate of the naval academy, had been assigned to active duty at the Long Beach airport, to replace Captain Schwartz, who had been transferred to Okinawa.

THE MOB GATHERS: On Friday, Jan. 11, a hostile group of over 50 persons gathered on the lawn in front of the Lieutenant's home while four representatives of a hastily organized "Home Owner's Association" met with Lt. Bauduit and Capt. Schwartz inside to make arrangements to purchase the home in the name of the Association and locate a home "of equal value" for Bauduit anywhere but Garden Grove. The meeting arrived at no decision, and sheriff's deputies dispersed the mob that had gathered in front.

On Jan. 12, Rev. Leonard Stark, Pres. of the Garden Grove Ministerial Union, called a special meeting to discuss the situation. That afternoon Capt. Schwartz announced that Lt. Bauduit had definitely decided not to occupy the home, due to the hostile atmosphere.

Members of the Orange County Council for Equal Opportunity, a local group that had been working on problems of discrimination in housing for about a year, met over the week-end with community leaders and neighborhood people, to counter the developing hostility. In Morrie Lane the Home Owners Association announced a meeting at the Women's Civic Clubhouse on Sunday afternoon to attempt to raise money to buy the home, and set up machinery to "keep undesirable elements out of the community."

GOOD NEIGHBORS: The Home Owners Association meeting drew 168 persons. Although leaders protested that they were not acting on racial prejudice, there were overtones of violence and hysteria. Four local Protestant ministers—Rev. Robert Washer of the First Methodist Church, Rev. Leonard Stark of the Faith Community Church, Dr. Guy Davis, Chapman College Professor of Theology, and Rev. Tom Gillespie of the First Presbyterian Church—repeatedly pleaded with the hostile majority, and warned of the tragic precedents that were being set. Others refuted the idea that property values would suffer if Lt. Bauduit moved in. Two couples who live a few doors from 12112 Morrie Lane, Mr. and Mrs. E. Phillips Blackburn, and Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Kouzel, denounced the action of their neighbors, and called for other families opposing the action to meet together to welcome the Bauduits.



Lettres Francaises, Paris

"With our best wishes for long playing and high fidelity!"

WELCOME: On Sunday evening, Jan. 12, 30 persons gathered at the Kouzel home. On hand were Lt. Bauduit and his wife Marty (the Bauduits are expecting their first child shortly). The meeting's purpose was to welcome the Bauduits and map a program to meet the crisis. Nine persons, all Morrie Lane neighbors, told this reporter that their names could be published in support of the Bauduits. It was decided to publish factual information on property values, which seemed to form the basis for the panic that was developing; also to write a letter to the locally influential Garden Grove **Daily News**, and to look into the the questionable legal aspects of the Home Owners Association.

The Garden Grove **Daily News** (1/14), ran a sober, restrained editorial refuting the idea that property values would deteriorate if Negro families moved in. By this time the issue was being discussed over every back fence, in the high school, and even in the elementary schools. Strong letters of condemnation of the Home Owners Association and warm letters of support for the Bauduits appeared in the press. Many ministers called parishioners in the area and discussed the Christian approach to the problem. Meanwhile, leaders of the Home Owners Association, with $3,200 in hand, attempted to contact Lt. Bauduit, who was not available. A resident of the Morrie Lane area, Mr. Tom Murphy, called upon a tense meeting of the Garden Grove City Council to take a "moral position" in the matter.

MAKE A CAKE: Mrs. E. P. Blackburn, of 12272 Morrie Lane, announced that a welcoming committee of at least 12 housewives had been organized to help the Bauduits move in, if they chose to. Each member of the welcoming committee was to "bake something" and deliver it to the Bauduits—"as a gesture of neighborly good will and friendliness."

On Thursday, Jan. 17, 12 Protestant ministers and a Catholic priest, all of Garden Grove, placed an ad (they paid for it themselves) in the Garden Grove **News**, which said: "We believe that we are not to harass, vex, or oppress the stranger who comes to live in our midst as a law-abiding citizen and we oppose all forms of discrimination . . ."

The Bauduits moved into their home on Friday, Jan. 18 and a steady stream of well-wishers came day and night for three days, bringing gifts and tokens of welcome. Neighborhood women cooked whole dinners and delivered them throughout the week-end, so the Bauduits could unpack and settle down more easily. The headline in Friday's Garden Grove **News** said "RACIAL ROW ENDS HAPPILY AS NEGRO FAMILY MOVES IN."

UNANIMOUS: The organizing committee of the Homeowners Assn. in a visit to the Garden Grove **News** office, declared: "We are not a prejudiced group . . ." and claimed that the entire thing was based on a misunderstanding. They told the newspaper that their plans for the future were "uncertain."

The weekend passed without a single hostile incident, and with a tremendous expression of warm welcome to the Bauduits from all sections of Garden Grove. On Sunday Rev. Robert Washer of the First Methodist Church, preached to over 600 persons on the subject of the previous week in Garden Grove. A large delegation from the young peoples group in the First Baptist Church, called on the Bauduits to welcome them.

On Monday, Jan. 21, Steve Brodie of the Homeowners Assn. called upon Lt. Bauduit, and invited him to become a member.

Meanwhile, elsewhere in Garden Grove, another Negro family quietly moved into a leased house. Horace Edwards, a mechanical engineer recently engaged by a new firm in Santa Ana, his wife Patsy, and their children Adrienne and Paul, became the second Negro family to live in Garden Grove. The moral awakening of the Bauduit welcome had carried along the whole community and Garden Grove seemed peaceful and neighborly.

The 11th Commandment

OMAHA, Jan. 12 (UP)—The Omaha Archdiocese today declared an Omaha theater "off limits" to Catholics for six months because the theater will show the motion picture, "Baby Doll."

Los Angeles **Times**, Jan. 13

The cheerful watchmaker of Market Street

By Michael Gold

SAN FRANCISCO

IN THE BRIGHT MILD AIR of a San Francisco winter you stroll down Market Street among the easy-going crowds of shoppers, then come to the Grant Building. It's an old, greenish renovated "skyscraper" of eight stories on whose first floor you will find a glass door that reads: "Warren K. Billings, Watchmaker."

You enter a silent little one-room world, like a stage set in gray. A showcase displays some inexpensive Swiss watches, gilt tie clasps from New York and ladies' earrings. Behind it sits a silent man at a bench. He is dressed in a surgeon's white coat and is intently studying a sick watch through the loupe fastened to his hornrim glasses.

WARREN K. BILLINGS
Philosophy? Same

You rudely interrupt concentration, but he greets you with an untroubled grin of welcome. This is Warren Billings, who spent 24 years, three months and 25 days in Folsom Prison. He was the fellow-martyr of Tom Mooney in one of the world's most infamous instances of the capitalist frameup of labor leaders. He had been 23, Tom's young lieutenant in organizing this city's street car workers.

Billings now is short and solid, with a ruddy, good-natured face and twinkling blue eyes. He looks like your hard-working favorite uncle, or like the average rank-and-filer of Western labor.

"Prison is hell," he answered my first question cheerfully, "but if you've always liked people and got along with them, you'll get along in prison, too. Though my first six years were really tough. They kept me in solitary all the time: no visits except my lawyer once in three months; no letters, except from my mother. You see, they wanted to break me, get me to turn against Tom Mooney. They put stoolies in the next cell, told me every kind of lie, trying to make me believe Mooney and the others had abandoned me.

"Once Fickert himself, the District Attorney, called on me. His case was falling apart, and he tried to scare me into being his stoolie. He much resembled Joe McCarthy. He shook his hammy fist under my nose and screamed he'd have me hung if I didn't give him what he wanted. Confess to a lie and go free! Stick by the truth and hang!

"They did the same thing to the Rosenbergs. They did it to Morton Sobell. There is the same pattern in all these frameups. That's why I am so concerned with the Sobell case and doing all I can to help."

THE CHEERFUL WATCHMAKER in the white coat then reminisced and related many fascinating episodes of his prison Calvary of 24 years, three months and 25 days. (This exact figure is one that he repeated several times. Like your favorite uncle, Billings tries to be exact and truthful in every fact. He doesn't want anyone to think he is bragging, or that he spent a minute more in darkest Folsom than "24 years, three months and 25 days.")

Folsom, next to Alcatraz, is one of free America's toughest "maximum security" prisons. Billings entered it only two years after public exposure had abolished such medieval tortures as the "water cure," the "hooks," the "strait-jacket." But the cells still had solid steel walls of half-inch boiler plate, with a two-by-six-inch wicket through which the brutal guards stared and sneered.

Billings feels strongly about prison reform. They are class institutions, built only to subdue and punish the poor and hard-working. Billings had written and spoken on the theme. He feels that organized labor has not yet realized that prison reform is one of its special tasks, a duty it owes the American worker.

Some enterprising publisher could get a fine book from Billings on prison life. I can't begin to repeat the many fascinating stories he spun as customers came and went through the little shop.

"Just the same, I fooled them," he grinned. "I kept studying in the prison; I didn't let them break me. I was always reading books, magazines, scientific papers. I studied history, astronomy, mathematics, law, psychology—and even socialism. I even found some fine professors in jail; an old Oxford professor taught me the King's English while we labored on the stone pile."

"Where did you learn your watch making?"

"The same way—the hard way, in prison. My old dollar watch broke down. I flattened an old nail and made a little screwdriver and fixed the watch. A prisoner saw me and asked me to fix his watch. Then another and another. I learned as I went along. I discovered the principle that only dirt and friction could stop a watch. So I made tools and hid them under an old **Saturday Evening Post**. I would have got a month in the hole on bread and water if caught. Finally the authorities legalized my watch repairing.

"And when I came out of jail I started spinning like a top. I was suffering from the usual shock, a sick feeling like dying. Where did I belong? I had no plans, no routine, no hope for tomorrow. But the watchmaking saved me. Now I have remade my life. All sorts of people drop in on me; most of my customers know about the case. Sometimes an old prison friend will drop in, like that old burglar you just saw. He looked like a businessman, didn't he? He's a swell guy, none better."

"What is your philosophy now?"

"The same as when I was a boy and was framed for life because I helped organize an A.F. of L. union. It is the philosophy of Eugene Victor Debs. We must fight to free every prisoner and make this a better world. Socialism—that's the password to the future."

BILLINGS GIVES QUITE A FEW DAYS out of his livelihood to travel to New York, Los Angeles and other cities speaking for Sobell's freedom. He is chairman of the local committee, is also an official of his trade union, Local 101 of the Watchmaker's Union, A. F. of L. He is delegate to the central labor council in San Mateo County. One of the issues he specially fights for is Negro integration. Billings grew up alongside a Negro family when he was one of nine hungry kids of a poor widow in Brooklyn. The Negro women cared for him and his little brothers and sisters while the mother was out working. So he feels very simply that they are his own flesh and blood and he has always battled for them in and out of his trade union.

After serving 24 years, three months and 25 days of his life in a prison, he remains a rank-and-filer who goes on working, fighting and hoping. No purple writing, no Dostoyevskian despairs, no American intellectual jitters! On his banner is still written the simple device, "Freedom!" Warren Billings is a fine example for many of us in this time of confusion.

Let us repair our watches and also free Morton Sobell!

RANDOLPH BOURNE'S "UNTIMELY PAPERS"

Do the people have a say on war?

This is the last of three excerpts taken from Randolph Bourne's Untimely Papers, published in 1918. The first two appeared in the Guardian of Jan. 21, 28.

GOVERNMENT is obviously composed of common and unsanctified men, and is thus a legitimate object of criticism or even contempt. If your own party is in power, things may be assumed to be moving safely enough; but if the opposition is in, then clearly all safety and honor have fled the State. Yet you do not put it to yourself in quite that way. What you think is only that there are rascals to be turned out of a very practical machinery of offices and functions which you take for granted. When we say that Americans are lawless, we usually mean that they are less conscious than other peoples of the august majesty of the institution of the State as it stands behind the objective government of men and laws which we see. In a republic the men who hold office are indistinguishable from the mass. Very few of them possess the slightest personal dignity with which they could endow their political role; even if they ever thought of such a thing. And they have no class distinction to give them glamor. In a Republic the Government is obeyed grumblingly, because it has no bedazzlements or sanctities to gild it. If you are a good old-fashioned democrat, you rejoice at this fact, you glory in the plainness of a system where every citizen has become a king. If you are more sophisticated you bemoan the passing of dignity and honor from affairs of State, but in practice, the democrat does not in the least treat his elected citizen with the respect due to a king, nor does the sophisticated citizen pay tribute to the dignity even when he finds it. The republican state has almost no trappings to appeal to the common man's emotions. What it has are of military origin, and in an unmilitary era such as we have passed through since the Civil War, even military trappings have been scarcely seen. In such an era the sense of the State almost fades out of the consciousness of men.

James Montgomery Flagg's famous recruiting poster of World War I

WITH THE SHOCK of war, however, the State comes into its own again. The Government, with no mandate from the people, without consultation of the people, conducts all the negotiations, the backing and filling, the menaces and explanations, which slowly bring it into collision with some other Government, and gently and irresistibly slides the country into war. For the benefit of proud and haughty citizens, it is fortified with a list of the intolerable insults which have been hurled towards us by the other nations; for the benefit of the liberal and beneficent, it has a convincing set of moral purposes which our going to war will achieve; for the ambitious and aggressive classes, it can gently whisper of a bigger role in the destiny of the world. The result is that, even in those countries where the business of declaring war is theoretically in the hands of representatives of the people, no legislature has ever been known to decline the request of an Executive, which has conducted all foreign affairs in utter privacy and irresponsibility, that it order the nation into battle. Good democrats are wont to feel the crucial difference beween a State in which the popular Parliament or Congress declares war, and the State in which an absolute monarch or ruling class declares war. But, put to the stern pragmatic test, the difference is not striking. In the freest of republics as well as in the most tyrannical of Empires, all foreign policy, the diplomatic negotiations which produce or forestall war, are equally the private property of the Executive part of the Government, and are equally disposed to no check whatever from popular bodies, or the people voting as a mass themselves.

PENNA. TRAGEDY

800 mine families hit by shutdown

CALIFORNIA, PA.

Special to the GUARDIAN

JONES & LAUGHLIN Steel Corp.'s Vesta 4 mine here will shut down as economically "worked out" on April 1, after 53 years of mining which have produced 82½ million tons of coal. This announcement Jan. 12 has brought consternation to some 800 miners and their families and to merchants kept in business by the mineworkers' $200,000 bi-monthly payroll. Efforts begun a year ago to bring other industries to the community have not succeeded.

Some of the miners may be employed at J. & L.'s Vesta 5 mine adjoining No. 4; others may be taken on at the J. & L. Shannopin Mine at Poland, Pa. But for many, April 1 is the end of the line. A miner's wife in a Coal Center, Pa., dry goods store reported:

"One man came in here and was pulling out his hair. He is too old to get a job and doesn't know what to do. I felt sorrier for him than for my own husband. I was ready to cry."

A merchant said: "The other mines have a smaller number of men working. Vesta 4 mine brought the biggest payroll around here."

J. & L. officials expressed sympathy for the miners' plight but said the old mine was 85% worked out and continuing would be a "grossly uneconomical operation."

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

THEY WAN. TO FILL THEIR OWN "VACUUM"

What the Middle East wants and needs

By Kumar Goshal

IN HIS FIRST press conference in nine weeks President Eisenhower on Jan. 23 pressured Congress to approve both the economic and the military aspects of the "Eisenhower Doctrine." Otherwise, he said, Congress "would destroy what we are trying to do."

To Europeans and Asians, what the Administration was trying to do was becoming uncomfortably clear. It seemed to them that Washington was preparing to barge in to fill the "vacuum" in the Middle East it had helped create by elbowing out Britain and France.

It also seemed to Asians and Africans that the U.S. was biting off more than it could chew. For, according to statements Secy. Dulles made in an executive session of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the Middle East, like the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance, has been stretched to encompass far more territory than it takes in on the map.

THE NILE'S HEADWATERS: NATO, originally conceived as an alliance of the U.S. and the North Atlantic European community, eventually took in Mediterranean countries and even such colonial countries as Algeria. Similarly, to Dulles, the Middle East comprised not only Israel and the Arab world in Asia and Africa, but also such countries as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Ethiopia and Tanganyika.

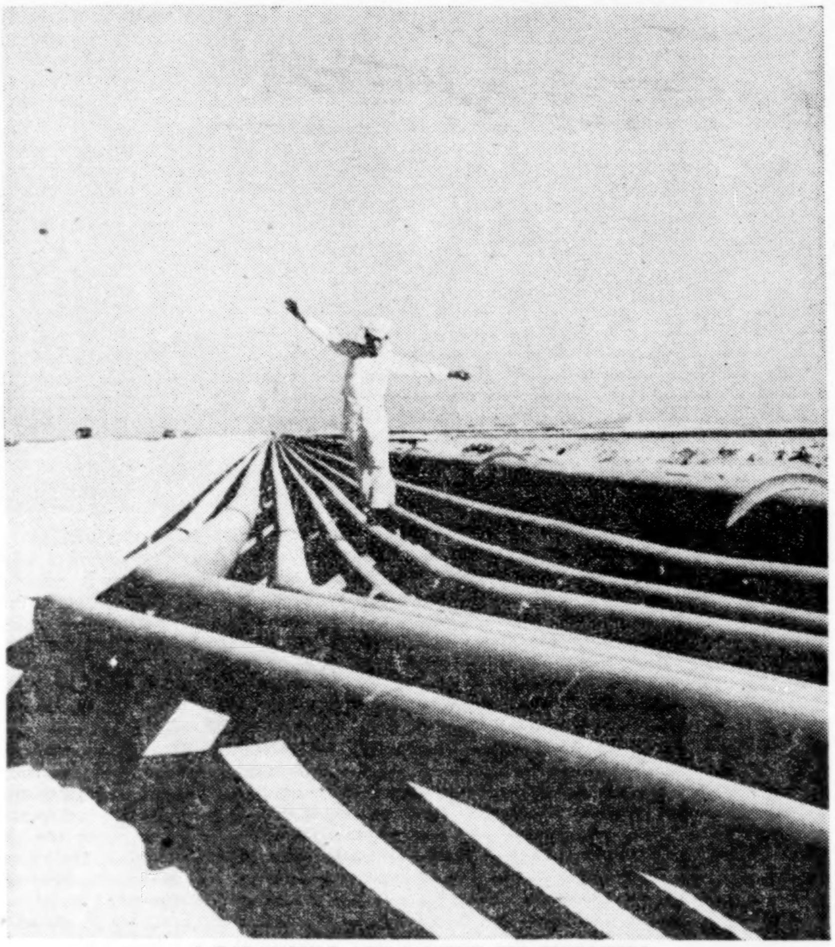
Since the headwaters of the Nile and its tributaries flow through these East African territories, Afro-Asians were disturbed by U.S. desire to extend its influence there. They knew only too well that Britain established its control over the Upper Nile region in order to keep Egypt under its thumb; it held over Egypt the threat of cutting off the vital water supply. **Newsweek** may have supplied the clue to Dulles' inclusion of N. Africa in his concept of the Middle East when it referred (1/21) to "a projected anti-Nasser N. African federation of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia."

Both the President and Dulles emphasized that the Eisenhower Doctrine's military and economic pledges in the Middle East were necessary to prevent Soviet intrusion by force. But a look at past events and the new conflicts brewing in the Middle East exposes the hollowness of this argument.

PLENTY OF TROUBLE: Military aid to NATO countries was given under the same pretext. But British and French NATO armies have fought the Cypriote and Algerian liberation forces instead, and were used in the invasion of Egypt. Far from fearing an attack by Moscow and Peking, Pakistan and Afghanistan have warmly entertained high Soviet and Chinese visitors.

There is, however, popular discontent in some Asian and African countries, and conflicts between some of them. Some governments have turned to Washington for help to stay in power.

Pakistan is at odds with India over Kashmir, a part of which is now occupied by Pakistani forces. There are border disputes between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Turkey, Iran and Iraq have serious internal unrest. Iraq's pro-Western Premier Nuri es-Said looks with a jaundiced eye on developments in Syria. Egyptian President Nasser is again in the Eisenhower Administration's doghouse. Cyprus and Algeria continue to bleed Britain and France. And over the whole Middle East hangs the ominous possibility of a resumption of the Israel-Egypt war.



A BALANCING ACT ON THE OIL PIPELINES

A sailor has a little fun in Ras Tamura, Saudi Arabia—but the big oil companies take a less playful position regarding the content of the pipes.

SITUATION IN JORDAN: The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan seems to have been given priority by the Administration. A deluge of recent press reports has predicted the imminent collapse of this former British military base, created after World War I as a link in the chain of fortresses guarding Britain's empire lifeline.

The N.Y. **Times'** military analyst Hanson Baldwin said (1/16) that Jordan "may be the first crisis point in the Middle East in 1957." Its correspondent in Lebanon reported (1/22) that Jordan's neighbors, including Israel, are waiting to bite off "choice bits of Jordan" when the country collapses.

Washington's interest in Jordan undoubtedly stems from a desire to prevent it from irrevocably lining up with the "neutralist" Asian-African group—a possibility enhanced by the Egyptian-Saudi Arabian-Syrian pledge to make up Jordan's loss of British financial aid. The Pentagon also has covetous eyes on the former British air bases of Amman and Mafraq.

THEY HAVE PLANS: President Eisenhower has refused to give newsmen "any program of expenditure at all" on his request to spend $200,000,000 in the Middle East. Dulles told Congress that "the U.S. has no long-range plan on hand now for economic development in the Middle East" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 1/13).

Most of the Middle Eastern countries, however, have plans for economic development which are immediate, long-range and specific.

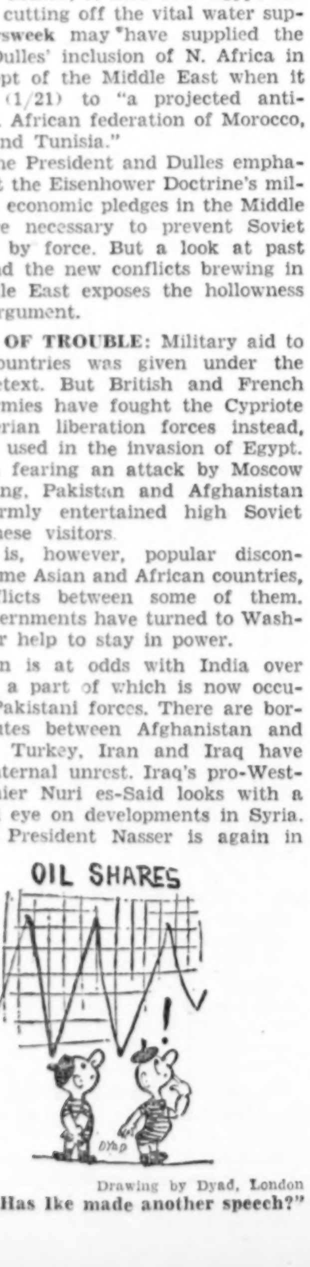
Syria, for example, has a seven-year plan for irrigation, transportation and industry. Lebanon has blueprinted a Litani River project for electric power, flood control and irrigation. Egypt's Aswan Dam and community projects are well known. Sudan plans a dam of its own on the Upper Nile. "Collapsing" Jordan has a five-year plan for developing transportation, education, industry, irrigation and a potash plant. There are regional plans for a Jordan River Valley project, tapping the Euphrates, building a Beirut-Damascus-Amman highway and other international roads and railroads. Afghanistan's first five-year plan has already been put into effect.

These plans have been carefully drafted, some with the help of British, American or UN experts. The cost of the projects in the Arab world alone is conservatively estimated at about $2,000,000,000. In contrast, Dulles was reported (N.Y. **Post,** 1/23) to have told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the President's proposed $200,000,000 would be spent more to supplement the "budgets" of the oil-rich feudal Arab rulers "and less [for] long-term projects."

THE IRAN EXAMPLE: A House Government Operations subcommittee report of how previous U.S. economic aid to Iran was spent gives a possible preview of Eisenhower Doctrine spending.

"From 1953 to 1956," the report says, "the U.S. gave Iran more than a quarter of a billion dollars in aid." It was spent "without prior planning or sound programming." Last November "$320,000 was paid to the Iranian army as a bonus [and later] $300,000 was given to the gendarmerie and $120,000 to the police [and] an additional bonus of $640,000 was paid to the army." Millions went to the Iranian Oil Co. In the first four months, the Iranian government drew from the aid fund $400,000 more than it needed to cover its deficit.

In the light of this experience, it seems safe to agree with Walter Lippmann when he says (1/17) that the money the President has asked for "is to be used for loans and subsidies which are primarily political in their impact . . . They belong to the small change of international political trading."



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Has Ike made another speech?"

Symbols

A NEW COURSE, "How Our Business System Operates," has been added to the curriculum of the Catholic schools in the Boston Archdiocese.

Teachers in the system will place symbols on a board to help students understand the principles of the American business system under which they will work.

Arrangements for the program were made by Rev. Timothy F. O'Leary, superintendent of schools for the Archdiocese and a member of the National Association of Manufacturer's Education Advisory Council.

Instructing Greater Boston teachers in the use of the program were Stanley L. Phraner, staff associate in the education department of N.A.M., and John A. Miner, program director for N.A.M. in New England.

The course is being taught in many school systems in the country, including 40 New England high schools.

Boston **Globe,** Jan. 13

THE JAYCEES PICK

Outstanding? King wasn't acceptable

ALABAMA Atty. Gen. John Patterson, 34, was honored by the Junior U.S. Chamber of Commerce at a Dallas, Tex., banquet on Jan. 19 after being chosen as one of the "10 outstanding young men of 1956." Since 1938 the Jaycees annually have selected men between 21 to 35 on the basis of contributions to their professions and "to the general welfare." A judging panel of nationally prominent persons went through 15,000 nominees.

The Associated Negro Press submitted the name of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. which led the bus protest there. The Jaycees turned the nomination down as "not acceptable at this time."

Patterson was honored for cleaning up "Sin City," the name given by movie publicity men to Phoenix City, Ala. Patterson's father, who was the town's district attorney, was killed there by racketeers in 1955.

KING WON ONE TOO: In his zeal for the work for which he was honored, Atty. Gen. Patterson winked at one group which could stand cleaning up—the White Citizens Council. In effect, he assisted it against citizens who sought the law's guardianship when he prepared the brief which asked the U.S. Supreme Court to "protect the peace and prosperity of the sovereign state of Alabama" against the court's own anti-jimcrow bus decision. Patterson lost; King won.

Lincoln (Pa.) University president Horace M. Bond on Jan. 1 wrote in answer to the Baltimore **Afro-American's** request for a list of last year's "outstanding events":

"I nominate as the outstanding American the Rev. Martin Luther King. I believe the Montgomery non-violent [anti-jimcrow] bus movement and the creation and success of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. to be [the Negro's] most significant achievement. What happened in Montgomery was quite the grandest and most significant thing ever to happen in these United States!"

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, wrote: "I believe that Martin Luther King is the outstanding American for 1956. He did something for America which had not been done before."

On Jan. 10 Dr. King was named "Man of the Year" by the Windy City Press Club, a Chicago organization of Negro publishers, newsmen and photographers.

Cancer story

(Continued from Page 1)

much of the story: In 1945 the Soviet Ministry of Health in a formal decree outlined a campaign against cancer. Since that time more than 65,000,000 people in the Russian Republic, almost the entire population over 35 (the most susceptible age for cancer) have undergone cancer preventive examinations. Similar programs have been launched in other Soviet republics.

"NO NEGLECTED CASES": The results offer hope that cancer can be wiped out as a major killer even while scientists are still probing for its causes. In some districts the Soviet drive has been so successful that no neglected cancer of the breast and uterus has been found in two years. **Pravda** (11/11/56), in reporting a medical conference, made a slogan out of the drive's objective: "No neglected cancer cases."

One startling fact emerging from Soviet statistics is that among presumably healthy people in the Russian Republic of the Soviet Union the cancer rate is about 1/9 to 1/10 of the U. S. rate. The American Cancer Society estimates that 1% of presumably well persons examined in the U.S. will have cancer symptoms. Dr. Savitsky reports that in the Russian Republic examinations turn up only .11% with the disease.

Reasons for the difference may be varied, but Dr. Savitsky pointed to one important reason when he wrote:

"The group of pre-cancerous diseases .... constituted .9% of the total number (of presumably well persons) examined; that is, 8 times as many as the number of cancer cases discovered. The treatment of these patients in time, and subsequent dynamic observation of them, is the best form of prevention of cancer arising from these pre-cancerous conditions; and if cancer does develop, such observation is the key to early discovery."

THE FARMS TEST: A picture of the Soviet cancer drive at work on collective farms is given in **Voprosy Onkologii** (Problems of Oncology) of June, 1955, by N. I. Chizhova and L. A. Dunaevskaya of the Rostov Roentgenological-Radiological and Oncological Institute. Experiments in mass preventive examinations were carried out at the Giant State Farm and the Stalin Collective Farm in the Salsk Region.

Before the first examinations on the farms in April, 1947, the whole population came together and listened to lectures. Then 2,000 were examined. Fourteen were found with malignant tumors, nine of them so advanced as to be incurable. The examination turned up a number of cases of pre-cancerous diseases—those which can lead to cancer. There were 22 cases of gastritis, 80 showing erosions at the neck of the uterus, 12 with benign tumors of the uterus. Other ailments were carefully recorded. The tally showed 255 suffering from some disorders. For five years all those found ailing from cancer, pre-cancerous diseases or otherwise were placed under observation and treatment. Twice in that period everybody on the farms underwent follow-up examinations.

1947 AND 1952: In 1952, the working force on the farms had dropped to 1,560 partly as the result of improved productivity. Of these, 677 had been examined previously. This is how 1952 compared with 1947:

Where 255 out of 2,000 showed some dangerous or potentially dangerous ailment at the first examination in 1947, among the 677 re-examined in 1952 there were only five with some ailment. Where in 1947 there were 14 cases of cancer including 9 incurable ones—in 1952 only one cancer case was found, and that one an easily curable skin cancer. The other four ailments among the 677 in 1952 were two benign tumors and two cases of inflammation of the uterus.

Of those found ill in the original test, all had been cured except the nine incurable cancer patients and four of those suffering from pre-cancerous diseases who were still undergoing treatment.

THE UNEXAMINED ONES: The group that had never before been examined turned up 257 cancerous and potentially dangerous cases, including seven showing signs of extremely dangerous cancer of the uterus. This was 50 times the number of ailing among those who had undergone previous examinations. (The group never before examined was larger—833, compared with 677 who had been seen before—but the difference was not large enough to discount the comparison.)

The significant fact was that repeated preventive examinations had produced a group of people with 1/60 the number of pre-cancerous diseases shown in the group that had never undergone examination. Among those never examined before there were nine fatal cancer cases in the 1947 examinations and seven others that might be fatal found in 1952. Among those who had been checked previously, in 1952 absolutely none were doomed by cancer.

In the Soviet Union the possibilities of multiplying the experiment of these two collective farms are limited only by available money and trained personnel. The socialist organization of farms and industry make such organized preventive medicine possible. U.S. authorities know the theory of preventive medicine but have so far failed to apply it on the mass scale that shows such startling results in the Soviet Union.

THE STRANG CLINIC: Because there is no nation-wide examination, follow-up or registry, figures on the prevention of cancer are hard to come by in the U.S. Statewide summaries, however, bear out the Soviet thesis. In Connecticut, for example, 66% of the cases of breast cancer are found to be curable if caught early, but only 37% at a later stage. In stomach cancer the figures are 13% and 5%.

The Strang Memorial Clinic in New York City is devoted to catching cancer early, but this is what Dr. Wilson G. Smillie wrote in his **Preventive Medicine and Public Health:**

"In 1948 the Strang Memorial Clinic alone examined 5,575 new patients and had 18,824 revisits. The waiting list had become so long that patients could not be seen for six months to a year, thus to some degree at least, neutralizing the very purpose for which the clinic was created, namely, prompt diagnosis of early lesions."

The Strang Clinic, doing one of the best jobs in cancer detection, examined only 25,000 people a year. The number was necessarily limited because it charges $20 for an examination. Some hospitals charge as much as $40 a day for cancer treatment. In the Soviet Union, examinations and treatment are free.

THE SPECIALISTS: In the Soviet Union oncology—the study of tumors—is a major specialty: more than 25,000 doctors have taken post-graduate training in the field. In 1954 only 143 doctors in the U.S. were taking post-graduate oncological training under a program supported by the Natl. Cancer Institute. U.S. Public Health Reports noted that number as an advance over previous years but acknowledged that, even if most Americans were educated to the need of preventive cancer examinations, there was insufficient trained personnel to handle them.

Part of the difficulty encountered by private philanthropy, when it is entrusted with a major health problem, cropped up in the 1955-56 annual report of the New York Cancer Committee of the American Cancer Society. In its budget for 1956-57, the Committee had allocated over $207,000 for administration and fund-raising, but only $164,851 for "education of the public in all aspects of cancer as a life-saving measure."

WHAT IS NEEDED: The Committee does allocate more for the education of doctors and nurses and contributes over $698,000 to the American Cancer Society; but a sizable share of that money must go also to administration and fund-raising.

To Americans the facts are clear: Cancer can be wiped out as a killer; what it calls for is a massive campaign for preventive examinations that no philanthropy, however well-meant, can handle. Those Americans who can ought to be examined for cancer regularly. But there is a bigger job of instituting a public health program that can make such examinations available everywhere to everyone. Until then thousands of Americans who could be saved, will die.

RUTH CLARKE *is the pseudonym of a distinguished medical researcher and translator who has been associated with prominent American scientific libraries, medical journals and encyclopedias.*

TWO NATIONS: ONE DISEASE
Above: A mass cancer screening demonstration in New York. Left: A nurse in the First Clinical Hospital of Minsk preparing a patient for radioactive cobalt treatment.

Prevention

The American Cancer Society warns: See your doctor every year for a thorough check-up, no matter how well you feel; and see your doctor IMMEDIATELY at the first indication of any of these danger signals:

- Any sore that does not heal.
- A lump or thickening in the breast or elsewhere.
- Unusual bleeding or discharge.
- Any change in a wart or mole.
- Persistent indigestion or difficulty in swallowing.
- Persistent hoarseness or cough.
- Any change in normal bowel habits.

Flowers of Evil

The following editorial appeared in a recent issue of the Boston Herald.

IN A LONDON laboratory last week a group of British scientists sat pondering questions that affect the whole future of the human race. They were looking at tulips.

For centuries man had crossed and recrossed the tulip in his efforts to assist nature. The breeding of tulips began hundreds of years ago along the northern shores of the Mediterranean, in what is now the Asiatic part of the Soviet Union.

The bloom which the English scientists studied bore little resemblance to the modern flower. Its stem was much shorter, its leaves unpointed and its petals generally yellow. It was the tulip of a thousand years ago.

The reversion of the tulip to its original wild state had been accomplished by exposure to atomic radiation. And the seeds of the experiment have planted frightening doubts about the entire future of mankind.

Although tulips were used in the British laboratories, the scientists might have been gazing at a race yet unborn—our descendants. This may well be the world we have handed them, a throwback to fantastic physical, mental and spiritual monstrosity. We might well be handing our star over to demonic forces overwhelming Russian, American, Samoan and Chinese.

There is no way of telling how far we have gone already along the path to complete destruction. The work of the Curies de Becquerel and the Joliots long ago established, however, that mutations transmitted by heredity are wild and regressive; when the normal chain of evolution is broken, monsters are produced in increasing number.

Since the beginning of the nuclear explosions 10 years ago the whole world has become irradiated to a degree like the tulip. Factors of the ultimate physical damage cannot be fully assessed.

We have reason to assume, nonetheless, that thermo-nuclear explosions upset the delicate balance of nature. The immense amount of matter thrown into the atmosphere could cause the advent of a new glacial age; the quantity of nitric acid tainting the rainfall over hundreds of miles could sear and destroy vegetation; the radio-active isotopes floating above the earth for thousands of years could ultimately warp all life.

These are problems that cannot be conveniently dropped at the close of a national election. The Great Debate of our times is not along national lines but is international in scope. The observable effects of nuclear tests are only now becoming evident on a short-range basis. What inevitably will be the cumulative end?

They are only a bunch of short-stemmed, bushy yellow flowers. But let us hope they were not born to blush unseen and waste their fragrance on the desert air of man's inhumanity to man.

The cold war

(Continued from Page 1)

used in the event of general war."

The budget also disclosed plans to establish Army units equipped with atomic weapons at U.S. bases abroad. Pentagon officials named Turkey, Iran, W. Europe, Okinawa and Alaska as among the chosen sites. This disclosure was followed by the President's casual assertion that the U.S. might use "small" atomic weapons in the Middle East. At the same time, British Defense Minister Sandys journeyed to Washington to discuss, among other things, deployment of U.S.-made, intermediate range (1,500-miles) guided missiles in the United Kingdom; these missiles presumably would be equipped with atomic warheads.

These Washington moves, especially the decision to place atomic units on the very borders of the U.S.S.R., brought a strong Soviet warning. It was addressed to the countries in which the U.S. has established its military bases encircling the socialist countries and said bluntly that use of their territories as "bridgeheads for atomic war" would place them "under jeopardy of retaliatory atomic action."

PARAMOUNT ISSUE: Washington dismissed this warning (made in the form of a Tass statement) as "propaganda." But UN diplomats were inclined to agree with Walter Lippmann who pointed out (1/25):

"There is no use underestimating the diplomatic force of the Soviet warning . . . This is a powerful argument for neutralism and it is not easy to see how the Administration proposes to deal with that argument. Yet it is no exaggeration to say that the issue of neutralism is the paramount issue in the whole world that lies close to the Soviet Union."

That Washington, or at least a faction in the Administration, is aware of this issue (even though it has no solution) was apparent in the U.S. line at UN. For if the Eisenhower Doctrine increasingly "looks like nothing more than a retrogressive step to the 'dark ages' of atomic blustering" (William Richardson, N.Y. **Post**, 1/25), the U.S. is trying at UN to give the appearance of a more flexible approach to atomic disarmament. And if "nothing is more apt to discourage Middle East nations" from cooperating with the U.S. than "the thought that U.S. atomic weapons would be used in their defense," (James Reston, **Times**, 1/24), at UN the U.S. still seeks to hang on to such prestige as it has won among the neutrals by its stand on the invasion of Egypt.

DISARMAMENT DEBATE: For 11 years now the Assembly has debated disarmament. Each year, as India's Krishna Menon pointed out, it has been against a background of more and more armaments, newer and deadlier weapons, and usually greater international tension. Almost invariably, the outcome is agreement to disagree and to bury the problem for another year in the Disarmament Commission. This year's debate for the most part followed this familiar pattern;

KRISHNA MENON
A delayed appearance

but it revealed a few new and perhaps significant trends:

(1) The wide support developed for an immediate suspension of nuclear tests, as proposed by India and Sweden and, in the form of an outright ban, by the U.S.S.R.; (2) "The trend" as Egypt noted, "throughout the present discussion to enlarge the Disarmament Commission," as proposed by the U.S.S.R.; (3) The considerable interest shown in the Soviet proposal for a joint reduction in Western and Soviet forces stationed in NATO and Warsaw Pact countries.

Underlining the urgency some delegations felt about this last proposal where the appointment of German Gen. Speidel to head NATO ground forces in Central Europe and the emergence of West Germany as the dominant European force in NATO, now that Britain and France are so visibly weakened. For it points to the demilitarization of Germany under an inspection and control system, including aerial photography. The Polish delegation was not alone in asking: "Can we remain silent when weapons of mass destruction are being added to the arsenal of a remilitarized W. Germany?"

INDIA'S APPEARANCE: Opposition to the new disarmament trends was led by Britain, France and the U.S. Although they could find no answer—other than ridicule—to Menon's brilliant attack on their complacency about radiation danger, they would agree only to "advance registration" of nuclear tests. They based their bitter opposition to enlarging the Disarmament Commission and its subcommittee on the grounds that all nations could appear before these bodies. This in face of Menon's assertion that India had waited 18 months (1954-56) before it was permitted to appear—and that the Western answer to India's views had been circulated even before the presentation was completed! They dismissed or ignored the Soviet proposal for the thinning out of forces in Central Europe and the eventual demilitarization of Germany, although this had originally been proposed by Anthony Eden at the 1955 Geneva Conference.

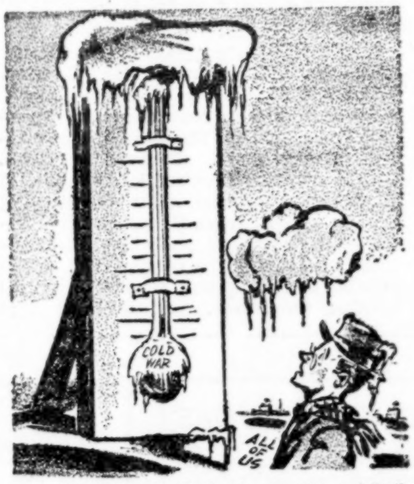
But it was notable that the U.S.'s Henry C. Lodge, in contrast to the practice of other years, for the most part avoided anti-Soviet invective during the debate. In general, he appeared content to let Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand carry the ball in opposing the popular currents. Something of this U.S. approach must have carried over into the behind-the-scenes negotiations. For these produced a joint procedural resolution, co-sponsored by the U.S., U.S.S.R. and other countries, to refer both Soviet and Western proposals to the Disarmament Commission. (Usually Soviet proposals are voted down by overwhelming majorities.) And the U.S.S.R.'s Kuznetsov expressed the hope that the "goodwill and desire for cooperation" demonstrated during these negotiations would be continued in the coming Commission and subcommittee work.

Herblock in Washington Post
"No more tranquilizers?"

FOCUS ON MIDDLE EAST: At the debate's conclusion, some would have agreed with Menon's prediction that while "the Western powers still have the votes, can table resolutions without listening to arguments, and marshall votes even before resolutions are introduced, there is a world public opinion and the time is fast coming when we will have to listen to it." For the new trends, however limited, suggested that world public opinion is beginning to be felt. By the same token, they also pointed to the growing difficulties faced by Washington in its efforts to carry water on both shoulders.

The dilemmas of Washington's policy, or lack of it, are focused most sharply in the Middle East, and are, therefore, more immediate in the Assembly's consideration of the Israel-Arab dispute. For Washington, as the **Times** (1/27) pointed out, has been "unwilling to antagonize Arabs and Asians by supporting Israel." But it cannot give all-out support to Egypt since that would undermine its own power play in the Middle East. This aims, among other things, at isolating Egypt and forcing it into a pro-West alignment. Its wooing of neutrals, so dramatically advanced by the ouster of British and French influence, if it is carried much further, risks alienating these allies to the point of rupturing the NATO alliance. And the neutrals, in turn, are alienated not only by NATO, a colonial alliance, but almost equally by the U.S.'s "go-it-alone" plan, backed as it is by atomic buildups, threats and military bases abroad.

THE REPORT: Faced with these conflicts, the U.S. has ostensibly taken a back seat in the Assembly's continuing consideration of Israel's failure to comply with UN resolutions for complete withdrawal. Washington has said in ef-



Partymiller in York, Pa., Gazette and Daily
No relief in sight

fect: "It's up to the Secretary General." But few at UN doubt that it has been working closely with Dag Hammarskjold. His report, produced at the end of the five-day deadline given Israel by the UN's resolution of Jan. 19, was an intricate legal document whose meaning and purpose would undoubtedly be the subject of lengthy Assembly argument and debate.

In sum, the report rejected Israel's demand for administrative control of Gaza, and for specific guarantees in exchange for withdrawal from the Gulf of Aqaba area; held that UN administration of Gaza would require Egypt's consent, as would any deployment of UN forces in the disputed areas. In effect, the Secretary General proposed that Egypt and Israel conclude a non-aggression pact, thus faithfully implementing the 1949 armistice agreement, and in guarded terms suggested that the UN Emergency Force might have a role to play on both sides of the armistice line—a role requiring both Israel's and Egypt's consent.

THE PROSPECT: If raids back and forth across the armistice line could be stopped in this fashion, the legal basis for Egypt's blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba would cease to exist, the report said. It noted also that Egypt had indicated a desire to end all border raids and had, to date, moved into Sinai only small police units necessary in support of re-established civil administrations.

As the Assembly began discussion of the report, an American spokesman hinted that the debate might be adjourned for a few days. He implied that the U.S. would try to bring Israel and Egypt together behind the scenes—using the occasion of the visit to Washington of King Saud of Arabia—and that further initiative was to be expected from the Secretary General.

REV. KING A TARGET

New bombings in Montgomery

A bundle of dynamite sticks tossed on to the porch of Rev. Martin Luther King's Montgomery home on Jan. 27 failed to explode. But a bomb thrown between another home and a filling station nearby damaged both buildings and injured two men. Rev. King's white frame house was dynamited once before—after the 28-year-old Baptist minister had been elected president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. and become a leader of the anti-jimcrow bus movement in December, 1955. No one was hurt.

Last week's was the latest in a recent series of attacks on Negroes. Four churches considered to be centers of Montgomery's integration fight and two parsonages were bombed on Jan. 10. Two children and their mother were injured in the dynamiting of a Birmingham parsonage. Gasoline-filled bottles have been hurled at busloads of Negroes in Chattanooga and bricks have shattered windows of Negro shops in Tallahassee. In Montgomery a pregnant Negro woman on a bus was wounded by rifle fire.

THERE ARE OTHERS: Several hundred of Rev. King's neighbors flocked around his house, just as after the 1955 bombing. He cautioned them then not to resort to acts of vengeance. After last week's attack, he said: "We've got to let it be known all over Montgomery that to stop our quest for equality it is going to be necessary to blow up 50,000 homes . . . Even bombing 50,000 homes would not stop it, because others could reach up and take the banner."

Though Montgomery has become "a city that is dangerous to live in," Rev. King said, Negroes must continue their non-violence policy, because "our oppressors control the police and the National Guard," and if the Federal government comes in, "that will be white folks, too."

WHY THE VIOLENCE: Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes seem agreed that acts of violence against them are meant to provoke retaliation. The meaning of the minister's plea was brought sharply home a few minutes later when some of his Negro neighbors—according to **AP**—"were visibly angered and police arrested two on charges of disorderly conduct."

No one has been arrested for any of the bombings or the shootings. Two Negro boys were picked up by police a few weeks ago charged with "stoning" a bus. The City Commission last week, however, added to Gov. Folsom's $2,000 reward a like sum "for any information leading to the arrest and conviction of any one who has thrown any bombs."

Virgil Hawkins learns meaning of democracy

"We're not pussyfooting around," he said. "If you think we are pussyfooting around, Virgil Hawkins, trying to get into our schools, you just try to get in!"

Hawkins, Negro, has been trying to gain admission into the University of Florida Law School for several years.

The speaker continued, "I have nothing against Virgil Hawkins, except I detest you trying to destroy democracy."

—Ku Klux Klan spokesman at a meeting of 200 Klansmen and 4,000 spectators near Gainsville, Fla., as reported in the Tampa Morning Tribune, *Jan. 21, 1957.*

ANOTHER ENDLESS WAR?

The big stake in Algeria: France as a great nation

By Anne Bauer
Special to the GUARDIAN

PARIS

IT IS GETTING very late for peace in Algeria. Premier Guy Mollet's new declaration of intentions is perhaps the last chance for a prompt peace settlement there, if the UN's Algerian discussion ends unfavorably for France. At any rate, it is a late chapter of a story already tragically long.

The Mollet statement once again offers too little too late. The few prospects it outlines more clearly than in previous declarations—more regional autonomy for Algerians, more economic justice, free elections three months after the cease-fire with equal representation for the European and Arab populations—only alarm the right, both in Algiers and Paris, as so many dangerous concessions to the rebellion.

("Free elections?", say the Algiers ultras. "Even if they are duly 'influenced', what if the Arabs vote for independence all the same?" That probability is indeed confirmed by several correspondents lately back from Algeria.)

To the Arabs, wary after too many unfulfilled promises, none of these prospects spells the magic word "independence," since the Mollet government has, once more, upheld "France's permanent power of arbitration" in Algeria.

RISE OF TERRORISM: Hopes were raised during four secret meetings, between April and September, of government envoys and National Liberation Front (FLN) delegates for a cease-fire. A Tunis paper revealed that the last two of these conferences, in Rome Sept. 2 and in Belgrade Sept. 22, made real progress toward an acceptable solution. But a month after the last meeting came the kidnapping of the five FLN leaders en route for a Tunis conference precisely to hasten that solution. Shortly after that, the Suez affair dropped French prestige in the Arab world to an all-time low and made all further negotiations unthinkable for a time.

The Algerian underground meanwhile began to make more frequent use of a terrible weapon against which there is little effective defense: terrorism. In the 27th month of insurrection, terrorist action in Algeria—with half a million French soldiers on its soil—has reached an average of 92 each month. Tension in Algiers has become almost unbearable.

THE "GENERAL'S PLOT": France's No. 1 problem affects many aspects of the country's internal and international affairs, and particularly her relations with Tunisia and Morocco. Like an infected wound, it creates a dangerous pre-Fascist climate both in Algeria and at home.

In Algiers, European Fascist bands took over the streets several times in late December and early January, killing and lynching at will, with the police looking the other way. Three Paris evening papers not suspected of communism were seized in Algeria the day after one of these riots; one of them, **Le Monde,** was confiscated because it gave an account of the incidents not pleasing to the Resident Minister.

The case of the "general's plot" that broke the first week of January is typical of that climate. As in all affairs of the kind, the full and complete truth is difficult to come by. The plot involved 53-year old Gen. Jacques Faure, a tough soldier, a veteran of Narvik, lately punished for his anti-European Army opinions and sent to North Africa. He apparently contacted the ultra-colonialist circles in Algiers and, taking the command of a territorial and tank unit manned by local civilian volunteers, "manipulated that unit with a great deal of vigor," as **Figaro** said.

Escaro in Liberation, Paris
"Is the helmet for diving or for blocking tomatoes?"

It is not certain whether the General was plotting to arrest the Resident Minister on his next trip to South Algeria and let two high-ranking officers take over in Algiers, or was merely guilty of "verbal imprudences," as the Defense Ministry claims. According to an official press statement his plot was just childish nonsense; nevertheless it is an indication of the present jittery state of mind and dangerous future possibilities.

FASCIST BANDS: In Paris, Algeria was the major issue in a Jan. 13 local election. Election meetings were stormy. Fascist bands tried to break up one headed by Mendès-France; at another they threw tear bombs, set fire to the speaker's tribune and smashed the hall with shouts of "Algeria must remain French" and "Death to the Jews."

It was significant that among the 20-odd candidates for election, those of the right and center right who also wanted Algeria to remain French, did not say how this could be achieved. The extreme left came out for recognition of the Algerian national front. Mendès-France's candidate pleaded, like his sponsor, for spectacular, profound social reforms that would bring about the "psychological shock" alone capable of restoring confidence between the European and Arab populations. But Mollet's latest statement did not even hint at any such "psychological shock."

MOLLET STAYS ON: Unlike London, Paris is not ready to draw any drastic consequences from the Suez affair. Mollet seems to be here to stay for a while, solidly supported by the right, while the Hungarian tragedy continues to trouble and divide the left. Therefore, his declaration of intentions may well have laid down French policy in Algeria for a long time to come.

France may manage to prevent all-out condemnation of its stand on Algeria at the UN this month. Despite his differences with Mollet on Algerian policy, Mendès-France has joined the Premier in opposing any action by the UN.

If UN action is blocked, it is difficult to see how France can prevent more killing, terrorism and reprisals in Algeria which are approaching the point of no return. At this writing, the Arab underground has undertaken a general strike in the week of Jan. 28—timed to the UN discussion. At the same time Arab terrorism and European reprisals multiply in smaller towns through Algeria.

Algeria may be all out to settle into another endless, hopeless war—less spectacular but more ruinous than the Indo-China war—in which France stakes nothing less than her future as a great nation.

Please don't read on a full stomach

The following letter to the editor appeared in the N.Y. Times *on Jan. 15:*

Our Board of Directors protests the unfair criticism of Senator Eastland in your editorial on Jan. 2.

The charge of anti-constitutionalism is particularly unjustified. His high regard for the Constitution is one of the main reasons for his opposition to the decision of the Supreme Court on school segregation.

We regard James Eastland as an able Senator and a thoroughly loyal American.

John H. Wisner, Jr.
President, Pro-Constitution Association, Inc.
Westfield, N. J., Jan. 9, 1957.

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Taking vitamins? See p. 12

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4 SPEAKERS

Socialism forum in L.A. Feb. 8

A FORUM ENTITLED "What About Socialism for the United States?" will be the next presented by the Unitarian Public Forum Friday eve., Feb. 8, in the Auditorium of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 W. 8th St. A panel of four will speak. They are:

Dr. Paul A. Baran, professor of economics at the Leland Stanford Jr. University, contributor to **The Monthly Review,** recent traveler to the Soviet Union and to India and author of a new work on the economic future of the U. S.; Reuben Borough, Los Angeles business man, one-time political editor of the Los Angeles **Record,** authority on public power, contributor to the GUARDIAN and California IPP candidate for the U.S. Senate; Dalton Trumbo novelist, screen writer and playwright, and Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, Pacific Coast leader in civic affairs and women's organizations.

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Calcium Pantothenate	2	5	5
Ascorbic Acid	33.3	50	50
Vitamin B12 in mcg.	2	1	1.5
Folic Acid	.67	—	.34
d-Alpha Tocopheryl Acetate (Vit. E)	—	2.3	3
Dicalcium Phosphate, Anhy.	50	50	747
Niacinamide	10	25	20
Ferrous Sulfate, Dried	10	10	45.56
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Dicalcium Phosphate, Anhydrous	145	—	260
Choline Bitartrate	100	240	31.4
Inositol	50	200	15
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Cobalt Sulfate	—	—	.193
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Potassium Sulfate	5	—	4.458
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IT'S WHERE YOU LIVE

What makes for jimcrow in New York's schools?

By Eugene Gordon

DO NEW YORK SCHOOLS exist for the pupils or their teachers? Some of the more than 200 persons who jammed a Board of Education open hearing on school integration in Brooklyn on Jan. 17 put the question as bluntly as that. Brooklyn NAACP president Milton Galamison said:

"We must determine whether the New York City school system exists for the benefit of the children or for the benefit of the professional staff."

Such hostile commentaries on one of the most overworked and underpaid of all the city's professions were prompted by the stand which many of the teachers' spokesmen took at the hearing.

Eighty-five spokesmen for more than 100 influential groups of teachers, parents, church, racial and national minorities, and home-owners had their say. The airing of the two reports by subcommittees of the board's integration commission lasted more than five hours. The first report recognized residential jimcrow as a perpetuator of segregation. It emphasized the necessity of exploring every method of breaking through residential barriers in rezoning schools and selecting sites for new ones.

FOR "DIFFICULT" SCHOOLS: The second report sought to show the way to attract a fixed staff of regular teachers to schools in old and residentially jimcrowed areas, now mainly staffed by substitutes and newly appointed teachers. It urged that transfers to "difficult" schools be voluntary, whenever possible, and recommended concrete steps toward improving conditions.

The second report also recommended that three years' teaching experience in "difficult" schools be required for promotion to supervisory positions.

Former Domestic Relations Court Justice Hubert T. Delany, speaking for the Intergroup Committee on New York's Public Schools, said he thought the Board of Education had called the hearing to give people a chance publicly to affirm their readiness "to move forward rapidly and unfalteringly toward real integration of our city's schools."

T.U. BACKS REPORTS: Teachers Union legislative representative Rose Russell welcomed the reports as a concrete program for integrating New York's schools and improving educational opportunities and standards for Negro and Puerto Rican children. Dr. Charles Rank, board vice president temporarily acting as chairman for president Charles Silver, cut her statement short but the applause for her was so prolonged that Dr. Silver later gave her an additional five minutes.

The main objective, Mrs. Russell said, was "not to substitute 'separate but equal' facilities for our present separate but inferior schools", but "to improve conditions simultaneously with the program of rezoning, restaffing, reorienting and otherwise revising school policies, so that all children can have good schools with capable, experienced, racially mixed staffs and a racially integrated pupil population."

She called for an end to the board's policy of "so-called non-recognition of the Teachers Union, which has demonstrated its selfless devotion to the cause of school integration over and over again."

IS IT CONVENIENT? Mary Andres Healy, chairman of the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations, asserted she was "very much afraid" that if the recommendations were carried out "to the letter," new "hostilities, conflicts, resentments and separations of the people" would result. There would be "obvious race consciousness," she said, where none now exists. The murmur of dissent which rose during Mrs. Healy's statement continued as Mrs. Concetta Roy of the High School Teachers Assn. attacked "the principle of inconveniencing students and parents by bus transportation to distant points"; as Miss Eleanor Harrington of the Teachers Alliance opposed "riding the children of New York all over the city."

Other teachers were vehement against being "rotated" and "transferred" to "difficult" areas. They predicted that the program would hasten retirements and resignations. Spokesmen for the Bronx-Borowide Assn. of Teachers and the Teachers Alliance agreed. The Teachers Guild, while seeming to dissociate itself from opponents of the reports, opposed the teacher-assignment proposals, "the very heart of the report on personnel and its main controversial feature," according to Mrs. Russell.

Judge Delany said that since in the past buses had been used to carry white children to predominantly white schools, "then we have not only the authority but the duty to use the buses to achieve integration."

REMEMBER CLINTON: Mrs. Rose Shapiro, chairman of the integration commission's subcommittee on zoning, told opponents of the reports that they could "learn courage from the teachers of Clinton, Tenn., where the difficulties are far greater than ours."

N.Y. Urban League director Edward S. Lewis told the teachers that their attitude indicated a need for re-education before positive results could be obtained for the children. He saw among those "who are supposed to make this program work some excellent prototypes of the White Citizens Councils."

Homeless jimcrow

IN ALBANY on Jan. 23 several bills to outlaw jimcrow in private housing were introduced in the Legislature. One of these, by Sen. George R. Metcalf (R-Auburn) and Assemblyman Bertram L. Baker (D-Brooklyn), would prohibit all forms of racial or religious discrimination in the rental of private multiple dwellings or in the sale of homes in large developments.